

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

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NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

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R 080914 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8743

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

MBFR CAPITALS 402

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3757

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FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: HIGHLIGHTS, APRIL 30- MAY 5

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP AND EAST- WEST ACTIVITY IN THIS REPORTING PERIOD CENTERED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE ATTEMPT TO WORK OUT PROVISIONS TO CARRY OVER THE PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION COMPROMISE PACKAGE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN SESSION WITH NETHERLANDS AND US REPS ON 30 APRIL, THE SOVIETS AGREED TO THE ALLIED DESIRE FOR A CARRY OVER PROVISION UNDER TWO CONDITIONS: THAT THE ALLIES IN THE QUADRILATERAL CONTEXT GIVE ORAL ASSURANCE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE RULED OUT OF ORDER

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IF THEY RAISE THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING WORKING GROUPS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH IS NOT SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED FOR IN THE CURRENT PROCEDURES ARRANGEMENT; AND THAT THE WRITTEN EASTERN STATEMENT ON CARRY- OVER SPECIFY THAT THE AGREED PROCEDURES DO NOT PRECLUDE RAISING THE QUESTION OF INVITING OTHER STATES AS OBSERVERS TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. AN AMENDED VERSION OF THE SOVIET CARRY- OVER PROPOSAL WAS FAVORED BY ALL IN THE AD HOC GROUP BUT THE UK. UK REP, AT INSISTENCE OF THE AD HOC GROUP, AGREED ON 4 MAY TO TRY TO GAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO PRESENT THE CARRY- OVER AND OBSERVER STATEMENTS IN ORAL EXCHANGES IN THE QUADRILATERAL CONTEXT, INSTEAD OF INCLUDING THEM IN THE WRITTEN RECORD OF THE FIRST PLENARY. IN THE QUADRILATERAL SESSION ON 4 MAY, THE SOVIETS REJECTED THIS APPROACH, INSISTED ON WRITTEN MENTION OF THE OBSERVER POSSIBILITY, BUT ACCOMMODATED OTHER CHANGES SOUGHT BY THE ALLIES IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE FIRST PLENARY BE HELD ON 10 MAY. FOLLOWING THE QUADRILATERAL SESSION, THE UK REP WAS TOTALLY ISOLATED IN THE AD HOC GROUP IN HIS OPPOSITION TO THE OUTCOME. END SUMMARY.

2. ON 30 MAY, THE NETHERLANDS (QUARLES) AND US REPS MET WITH SOVIET REPS KHESTOV AND TIMERBAYEV AT THEIR REQUEST. IN THE COURSE OF THIS SESSION, THE SOVIETS MADE CLEAR THAT IN ORDER FOR THE ALLIES TO OBTAIN A SPECIFIC PROVISION TO CARRY- OVER THE PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION PACKAGE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS - AS THE NAC HAD INSTRUCTED ON 27 APRIL - TWO CONDITIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE MET. FIRST, THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO GIVE THE SOVIETS AN ORAL ASSURANCE IN THE QUADRIPARTITE CONTEXT THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NOT RULE THE EASTERN SIDE OUT OF ORDER IF THE EAST RAISED FOR DISCUSSION DURING THE PRESENT CONSULTATIONS THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING WORKING GROUPS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. SECOND, THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE TO BE ABLE TO RECORD, FOLLOWING THEIR ASSENT TO CARRY- OVER, THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF RAISING THE QUESTION OF INVITING OTHER EUROPEAN STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS AS OBSERVERS WAS NOT EXCLUDED BY THE AGREED PROCEDURES.

3. THE FIRST SOVIET REQUIREMENT APPEARED TO BE ONE THAT COULD BE HANDLED IN SUCH A WAY TO LIMIT ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, AT WHICH TIME SOME WORKING GROUPS MIGHT HAVE TO BE ESTABLISHED IN ANY CASE. ON 1 MAY, THE AD HOC GROUP, AFTER BRIEF CONSIDERATION OF POSSIBLE SOVIET MOTIVATIONS FOR THE REQUEST, AGREED THAT AN ORAL ASSURANCE COULD BE GIVEN THE
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SOVIETS. THE ALLIED EMISSARIES WERE PROVIDED WITH AN ORAL STATEMENT WITH VARIANTS THAT THE GROUP WOULD CONSIDER ACCEPTABLE.

4. THE SECOND SOVIET REQUIREMENT CAUSED GREATER DIFFICULTIES. TO MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP, A SOVIET STATEMENT REGARDING OBSERVERS WAS AN OBVIOUS BUT NOT PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS

SOVIET ATTEMPT TO RECORD THIS POSITION ON THIS QUESTION FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. THE SOVIET REPS MADE CLEAR THAT THEY DID NOT EXPECT ALLIED AGREEMENT TO HAVE OBSERVERS AT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

5. AFTER A LENGTHY DISCUSSION ON 1 MA
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RSR-01 /136 W
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R 080914 Z MAY 73
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8744
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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

7. IN THE COURSE OF THE MEETING, THE GROUP AGREED THAT THE EMISSARIES COULD TRY THAT AFTERNOON AN APPROACH SUGGESTED BY THE FRG REP (RUTH) AND ACCEPTED AD REF BY THE UK REP. THE EMISSARIES WERE REQUESTED TO TRY TO GAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT THAT THE CARRY- OVER EXCHANGE INCLUDING SOVIET RESERVE ON INVITING OBSERVERS BE HANDLED THROUGH WESTERN AND EASTERN ORAL STATEMENTS TO BE MADE IN QUADRILATERAL MEETING INSTEAD OF INCORPORATED INTO THE WRITTEN RECORD OF PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION PACKAGE TO BE ADOPTED IN THE PLENARY. A NUMBER OF REPS, INCLUDING THE US, ACCEPTED THIS ATTEMPT WITH THE CAUTION THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY TO WASH WITH THE SOVIETS.

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8. DURING THE EMISSARIES' MEETING WITH THE SOVIET AND HUNGARIAN REPS ON 4 MAY, THE SOVIETS REJECTED ANY ORAL APPROACH TO THE CARRY-OVER AND OBSERVER STATEMENTS. THEY NONETHELESS WERE GENERALLY WILLING TO MAKE THE TEXTUAL CHANGES DESIRED BY THE ALLIES AND TO CONSIDER SLIGHT PRESENTATIONAL VARIATIONS AS LONG AS THE STATEMENTS WOULD IN SOME WAY BE INCLUDED IN THE RECORD OF THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION. (TEXTS OF STATEMENTS ON CARRY-OVER, OBSERVERS, AND WORKING GROUPS REPORTED IN PARA 45, VIENNA 3684). THE SOVIETS PROPOSED THAT THE FIRST PLENARY BE HELD ON 10 MAY.

9. ON 5 MAY, ALL REPS EXCEPT THE UK - ACTING ON HIS PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS - WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT TEXTS AS FORMULATED IN 4 MEETING WITH SOVIETS INCORPORATED INTO RECORD OF FIRST PLENARY. THE UK REP, APPARENTLY TRYING TO FIND SOME SUPPORT IN THE GROUP AND POSSIBLY EXPECTING SOME HELP FROM THE FRG, ASKED ALL THE REPS TO STATE THEIR POSITIONS ONE MORE TIME. THE TOUR DE TABLE REVEALED NO RPT NO SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH POSITION. THE ITALIAN, GREEK, AND TURKISH REPS SAID THEY REGARDED THE ACTUAL OUTCOME AS PREFERABLE TO WHAT THE EMISSARIES HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO TRY TO GET ON THE 4 TH. THE UK REP NOTED THE GROUP VIEW AND UNDERTOOK TO REPORT IN PERSON TO HIS AUTHORITIES IN LONDON. HE WAS URGED TO REPORT BACK TO THE GROUP AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FROM VIENNA, HE MET PERSONALLY WITH KHLESTOV AND, ACCORDING TO THE ACCOUNT GIVEN BY THE ACTING UK REP, THOMSON LEFT CONVINCED OF THE FIRMNESS OF THE SOVIET POSITION.

10. OTHERWISE DURING THIS REPORTING PERIOD, THE AD HOC GROUP CONTINUED ITS PREPARATIONS FOR THE BEGINNING OF PLENARIES. MOST SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FIRST SESSION ARE AGREED WITHIN THE GROUP AND WITH THE EAST. THE AD HOC GROUP THIS WEEK WILL CONTINUE REVIEWING THE REVISED OPENING STATEMENTS OF A NUMBER OF ALLIES. THE GROUP HAS ALSO BEGUN PREPARATIONS FOR HANDLING THE AGENDA, WORKING ON THE BASIS THAT THE CANADIAN DELEGATION WILL OPEN THE DISCUSSION WITH A GENERAL PLENARY PRESENTATION. THE GROUP IS MOVING TOWARD GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF THEREAFTER DISCUSSING THE AGENDA WITH THE EAST IN LESS FORMAL SURROUNDINGS, BUT THERE IS AS YET NO CONSENSUS ON HOW THAT SHOULD BE DONE. THE GROUP HAS ALSO GENERALLY ACCEPTED THE GOAL SET BY THE US REP OF FINISHING THE CONSULTATIONS BY 1 JUNE IF POSSIBLE.

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11. ASSESSMENT: THE BRITISH POSITION IS NOW THE KEY TO WHEN PLENARIES WILL BEGIN. IF LONDON SHOULD ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE NEW

REQUIREMENTS TO BE SOUGHT WITH THE SOVIETS, THERE WILL NOT ONLY
BE FURTHER DELAYS BUT THE PACKAGE COULD COME UNDONE. IF THERE
WERE ANY DOUBTS ABOUT IT PREVIOUSLY, THE CARRY- OVER DISCU
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